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Who Are the "Terrorists"?

by Murray N. Rothbard

Let's see if I've got this straight: a fanatic blind Muslim sheik was nabbed in the act of mixing the "witch's brew" in his bomb factory....

Not quite, though the media tried their best to convey this impression. Friday, June 25, and "terrorists!"—a word always good for a headline—was all over the media. Fanatic A-rabs, unappetizing looking characters to be sure, were all over the media, the FBI was patting itself on the back for heroism, and was seconded by all the media, and the pundits were all screaming for "retaliation." And since the arrests took place in New York, even Mayor Dinkins was looking good, just because he hung around to have his picture taken in the vicinity of the FBI.

Well, in the first place, I'm sorry, call me jaded, but I just can't get worked up over terrorist acts that *don't* take place. I mean: terrorist acts occur all over the U.S. every day—murders, rapes, car-jackings, drive-by shootings, et al.—and no one gives much of a damn. On the contrary talk about *these* every-day terrorist acts very much and you're liable to be accused of being a "racist" by the same jackasses who are howling for retaliation against shadowy A-rabs. But these A-rabs, who seem frankly like a bunch of klutzes, haven't *done* anything yet. I mean, all they've done so far is *not* assassinate former President George Bush, and *not* blow up the UN building or assassinate Al D'Amato. (I must admit I kind of like that bit about blowing up the UN building, preferably with Boutros Boutros-Ghali inside.) Yes I know there was the blowing up of the World Trade Center, but that seems to have been largely a different group of A-rabs. (Besides, they were klutzes too. Since when does a terrorist show up the next day at the rental place of the blown-up car and demand his deposit back? That sounds more like the Ritz Brothers than honest-to-God terrorists.)

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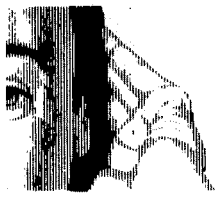

THE EAR

by Sarah Barton

Electronic bulletin boards are made for Libertarians, who can indulge their logorrhea and yen for instant gratification. Sitting at their computer keyboards, they punch out instant messages, little heeding that the public is listening in.

When the two R's left the Libertarian Party four years ago, they predicted that very soon the triumphant "performance team" would soon be

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(THE EAR cont. from pg. 1)
at each other "like scorpions in a bottle." And, wow, my dears, are they ever! Once again, as always with Libertarians, the fight is over a delicious blend of personality and ideology.

Since the disaster of the Marrou presidential campaign in 1992, the national LP has been split into two snarling factions. The outs, who met secretly in Atlanta shortly after the election, are the Atlantacoids, or the CLM (Committee for a Libertarian Majority). The CLM wants to change the party by dumping the oath (or pledge) of "non-initiation" of force, as well as the radical party platform. Thereby, the CLMers hope, the LP will cast off its radical image and look like the Real World parties. The CLMers are headed by 1992 Veep candidate Nancy Lord, her husband free-market Atlanta thinktanker Michael Tanner, and blustering Chicago commodity trader Steve Givot. The direction of CLM "pragmatism" may be seen by the fact that their leader, Nancy Lord, favors civil rights laws and the welfare state.

The Ins, or the Old Guard, or purity faction, is led by national chair Mary Gingell, national secretary Joe Dehn (once Oregon, now Colorado), Gingell's ex-husband Bill Evers, and other long-time Big Names in the LP. The Pledgers, or Old Guard, want to keep the pledge and the radical platform.

Well, it didn't take long for the ideological to become personal. The focus of attack is national chair Mary Gingell; Givot and his fellow CLM pit bull, Clay Conrad of New York, are bitterly denouncing Mary for her alleged "close personal relationship" with Joe Dehn, not, heaven forbid! for prurience sake, but because said relationship "affects Mary's performance" as national chair, and presents a "conflict of interest" (?) between her and the national secretary. In reply, Mary fired Marketing Coordinator Jo Jorgensen because her "close personal relationship, with Steve Givot was affecting *her* performance and represented its own "conflict of interest."

This goes on and on for weeks and months, with bitter attacks by and on Givot and Conrad, defenses of their own position, the other guys being accused of being liars, evil, etc. And then, of course, there are a few rank-and-file boobs wandering into the electronic network and wondering why everyone hates everyone else, how there can be an effective party in these conditions, and various other sweet but naive sentiments which of course have zero impact.

Finally, in the midst of this brouhaha, Steve Givot came up with a shrewd proposal. He proposed that the leaders of both sides rescue the bloody and torn LP by giving up high office for the crucial and unusually long three-year term of officers who will be chosen at the National Convention this Labor Day weekend at the Salt Lake Marriott. Sounds reasonable, right? The battling leaders: Gingell, Dehn, Givot, Conrad, Ernsberger, et al. should gracefully retire from the National Committee or national office for three years. Why not? Sounds great: joint disarmament.

But of course there's a big hook in the offer. For the whole point of the fight, the central focus of the problem, is Mary Gingell and her controversial "management style," and her battle for re-election. For Gingell to agree not to run for re-election would be tantamount to Gingell surrendering her fragile emotional health for a three-year period. And all the leaders on both sides know it.

The bottom line is this: knowing the LP, the CLMers will probably lose the pledge-and-platform fight. In the last analysis, however, they will be willing to settle for the head of Mary Gingell. And they *might get it*! Because the rank-and-file LPers, who can be stirred to defend the purity of the platform, will then be willing to compromise on personalities they know little about! And to the rank-and-filers, dumping Gingell would seem like a good compromise stance.

Gingell's controversial "management style"? It can best be called "protohysterical." Gingell has been described by her Givotian enemies as a "micromanager" and lacking "stability." In reality it's worse. She has never gotten over her MBA degree from Harvard, which has made her an insufferable bureaucratic formalist (full of charts, conferences, "goals," and all the rest). On top of that, she is a nag prone to temper tantrums. Personally, I am not and never have been an LPer, but if I were a rank-and-filer, this solution would look pretty good. One would only want to wish Mary Gingell as head of an organization if you really hated the guts of that organization.

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For old LP watchers, it's not news that the Gingell group is the remnant of the old Bergland faction: indeed, David Bergland (LP presidential candidate in 1984) and his wife Sharon Ayres popped up recently as alternate members of the National Committee from California. One delicious item on the electronic bulletin board was the alleged threat of Bergland to "drown" CLM pit bull Clay Conrad in the hotel pool. There ensued a flurry of typically Libertarian messages on the bulletin board: was the threat to "drown" justified; did Conrad's "verbal aggression" justify it? etc. in the usual wash of pseudo-philosophic verbiage.

To Old LP watchers, drowning the entire gang sounds terrific. To paraphrase the old joke: What do you call it if a boat filled with the top LP officials sinks beneath the waves? Answer: A good start.

* * * * *

As part of their alleged leap to the "real world," Givot and the CLMers got the NatComm to agree to appoint a Shadow Cabinet of LPers. You know, like the Labor Party in Britain? See, the idea is: if a problem arises in the news about some political area, the media will rush to get a statement from the LP "Cabinet" member. Sure, I can see it now: the A.P. rushing to the Shadow Health and Human Services Secretary for a take on health care? Or the Shadow Secretary of State on Bosnia?

Note *this* is the "Real World" faction!!

Hey, LP! who's going to be the "head" of IRS? Or the LP "AIDS Czar"? ■

(TERRORISTS? cont. from pg. 1)

The war-crowd are thirsting for "retaliation," although even they admit reluctantly, that not every A-rab, or every Muslim, is the same and evil. Well, I've got a simple suggestion, based on the grand old libertarian (and Biblical) principle of proportional punishment: "let the punishment fit the crime."

OK, then: for the grave act of *not* assassinating George Bush, the U.S. reacts by *not* bombing Iraq, or *not* murdering Sadaam.

For the act of *not* bombing... what? There are wild, unproven mutterings about all the standard suspects: Iraq, Iran, Libya, but there's a new actor in this play. For most of these arrested non-(or at worst, proto-) terrorists, come from... Sudan! Sudan, a big country, hostile to "pro-Western" (English translation: on the CIA payroll) Egypt. I have seen Sudan described in the media in the last couple of days (after June 25) as (a) "Marxist," and (b) "Islamic fundamentalist." Hell, you pays your money and you takes your choice. What difference does it make if the two are incompatible? They're both "fanatically anti-West," right? (English translation: they either spurned CIA money or, like poor old Noriega, *yesterday*'s Third World thug, took CIA money and then betrayed it).

There are wild, unproven mutterings about all the standard suspects: Iraq, Iran, Libya.

As soon as I saw the word "Sudan" being slung around, I figured the next step was for all the pundits to start calling for bombing/occupying/bringing food to/bringing "human rights" to, Sudan. Sure enough, Sudan has all the conditions for the next U.S./UN New World Order quagmire: lots of people, a dictatorship (what else?), ethnic conflict (what else?), and lots of starvation (of course.) To top it off, the government is in the hands of an Arab (boo!), Muslim (double boo!) dictatorship, while the rebels in the South are black (hooray!), primitive (double hooray) and Christian (hooray, except in Bosnia where Muslims are good and Christians are bad. Well, you expect consistency?). *Except* that most of the primitive blacks in southern Sudan are only "Christians" by courtesy of the American media; almost all of them are "animists" (English translation: pagan). So now we switch the possible boo (for Christian) to a definite hooray (for "animists," who are closer to Mother Earth).

Well, I've evolved a theory, which has worked all too well so far: When the U.S. Establishment decides to invade a country, the first thing they do is to send CNN with TV cam-

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eras to show us starving kids with flies around their faces. They did it with the Kurds in Iraq; they did it in Bosnia; they did it in Somalia.

So: on the night of Friday, June 25, watching CNN Worldwide News in a moment of weakness (since I've tried to swear off TV news), what should be the first thing I see? You got it: starving black kids in Sudan with flies around their faces! Get set, Americans, Sudanese, and whatever anti-war movement is left: Hands Off Sudan!

The Blind Fanatic Sheik

Back to the poor old blind fanatic sheik. But first, let us give more than the usual lip service to the "alleged" part of the charges against these A-rabs. Everything so far is "alleged," the word of a mole, and who knows if the mole was chewing qat or whatever during that period. Let's not convict Siddig and his pals before they get a trial in open court. OK?

But apart from that, I'm particularly interested in this poor blind sheik, one Omar Abdel-Rahman of Jersey City, quite far from the "bomb factory" of Siddig and the boys in Queens, New York. What is the evidence against the blind sheik (who is as little likely to be mixing the chemicals in the witch's brew of bombs as Lew Rockwell's blind fireman is to be pointing the hose in the direction of a fire).

Well, all these guys, Siddig and the mad bombers, are communicants in Sheik Abdel-Rahman's mosque in Jersey City. In fact, Siddig himself, the supposed leader, has been an official English interpreter for the blind sheik. Hey, well that proves it, doesn't it? Except that it proves far too much; on these grounds, half the Catholic priests in New York, Chicago, etc. should be in jail as presumptive directors or "inciters" of crimes of the Mafia. Don't they all go to the same churches?

But, charge the hopped-up U.S. media, the sheik is a preacher of "violence," so therefore he's "incited" his followers to these dire deeds, or non-deeds, even if he was not in on them directly. But the problem is that the blind sheik himself vigorously denies all this; he claims that he is strongly opposed to any destruction of person or property.

But isn't blind sheik Omar a radical? Yes. Isn't he a "fundamentalist"? Well, the word "fundamentalist" is really a misnomer, since it should only apply to pre-millennialist dispensationalist Protestants whose creed was set forth in 1910 in a set of volumes called "The Fundamentals...", but let that pass. Let's say that the sheik is a dedicated preacher of Islam. More concretely, the political radicalism that the blind sheik preaches is something he is very candid about: he preaches the overthrow of what he considers the heretical dictatorial regime of Hosni Mubarak, president of Egypt. Yes, Sheik Omar is a preacher of revolution and violence all right, but not in the United States, only against the Egyptian government! So why should we give a damn?

Andrea Peyser, what used to be called a "sob sister" columnist for the tabloid *New York Post*, proclaims loudly that she's mad. Mad at "that vicious little sheik in a Santa Claus hat," this "pseudo-religious nut" (*N.Y. Post*, June 25), and mad particularly that she "screamed so loud it shook my entire brownstone: 'Why the hell is he still here?'"

Well, if you will sit still and calm down, Andrea, I'll tell you why this religious leader [who the Hell are *you* to say he's "pseudo-religious" or a "nut"?] is still here. In contrast to many immigrants beloved by the left, Sheik Omar is here legally, and he's here as a political refugee, or as what *U.S.A. Today* oddly referred to (June 25) as a "self-imposed (sic) exile." Why is Sheik Omar a refugee? Because the Mubarak regime wants to get Omar back to Egypt where it can put him on trial for "inciting" "terrorists," some of whom assassinated Mubarak's predecessor and mentor, Anwar Sadat, twelve years ago.

Commendable zeal on the part of Mubarak, you say, even though the charges are a bit old? But that overlooks the main point; twelve years ago, you see, the Mubarak regime *already* tried the blind sheik on the same charge, and he was acquitted, even by the Mubarak-dominated courts. *Now*, Mubarak wants Omar back in Egypt so he can try the blind sheik once again. Although, oddly enough, Egypt has yet to file an extradition request for Omar.

A few years ago, I would have thought that double jeopardy would be repugnant to every American, and therefore that if anyone is a political

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refugee and we grant asylum to such people, Sheik Omar is a worthy recipient. But now, of course, we have proved, with the double trials of the L.A. Four (Stacy Koon and the rest of the police) that double jeopardy is no longer a human, much less a constitutional, right, so long as the defendant is Politically Incorrect. And boy is Sheik Omar politically incorrect, probably more so in the United States, the land of the free, than in his Egyptian homeland.

If Bush or Clinton pushes around any group long enough, that group starts looking pretty good to me.

Let us turn to what happened to the poor blind sheik on that fateful afternoon of Thursday, June 24. He was sitting alone in his modest Jersey City apartment just after noon (*not* in the Queens "bomb factory"), when he "heard somebody knocking very hard on my door." "When I started to walk toward it," the sheik added, the door "was busted in." A bunch of FBI and local police, then burst through the door, manhandled the sheik, and searched the apartment for five hours, hauling out eleven cardboard boxes of "apparent evidence." What did the feds and cops take? They were accompanied by a "bomb-sniffing dog," and you can bet your boots that if the dog had sniffed out a bomb or a proto-bomb, the news would have been splashed all over Friday's media.

What did they take? According to Sheik Omar, they took what he has in his apartment. "What do I have here? Just books and tapes." And then the sheik added: "I would never have books on bombs or explosives. The books are all on religious subjects." The young bomb-factory guys were damned by the media because they were caught in the act of "reading books on engineering." Hey, maybe these guys are taking some courses, or just interested in expanding their knowledge of science?! At any rate, we might find out differently at a trial, but so far the blind sheik's words have the ring of truth. And as of this writing, interestingly enough, Sheik Omar, despite all the hysteria, has neither been charged nor arrested. So maybe there won't be any trial, at least for him.

Contrast good sense, and the American concept of proof, however, with the statements of one of those accursed "experts on counterterrorism" who always pop up on these occasions. This time it's Vincent Cannistraro, identified by *USA Today* as a "former" counterterrorism official with the CIA. On the fact that the accused A-rabs are members of Omar's mosque: "That ties him [Omar] in very closely. These people are all part of the extended family of the mosque." Oh, oh. The words "extended family" in the mouth of the feds should give one much pause. You remember what happened to the Christian "extended family" of poor incinerated David Koresh? Cannistraro is also wistful about the difficulty of proving a case against the evil sheik. The problem, says the ex-CIA man, is that the sheik "is known to inspire followers through his preachings, not to give direct orders to underlings." Gee, that's pretty diabolic, isn't it? "Conspiracy," sighed Cannistraro, "is a hard thing to prove." I'm afraid that if Cannistraro and his ilk had their way, it wouldn't be difficult to prove, at all.

An old friend of mine, after reading my June RRR article, "Hands Off the Serbs!," exclaimed: "Murray, I didn't think you could ever like the *Serbs*!" Well, I replied, it's getting to the point where, if Bush or Clinton pushes around any group long enough, that group starts looking pretty good to me. And right now, as the media hysteria pours in, the little blind sheik, this poor old guy poring over the Koran and preaching justice as he sees it, is looking pretty good to me. (No officer, I'm neither a fanatic A-rab nor a fanatic Muslim....)

The Weirdo Paid Informer

Central to the prosecution case, as usual in these matters, is the traitorous informer, who in this case turns out to be Emad

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Ali Salem, a security aide to our beloved blind sheik. Salem, however, turns out to be a rather weird character, not the sturdiest witness for the prosecution. Salem, now of course in protective custody, is an Egyptian immigrant who claims to have been a former Egyptian lieutenant colonel, who came here "seeking peace and financial opportunity." (*New York Newsday*, June 26). In his modest Manhattan hotel suite, however, there is proudly displayed a photo album, in which pictures of family members are juxtaposed with photos of Salem's torture victims from his previous life as an Egyptian army officer. Furthermore, *Newsday*'s own anonymous informant, a close friend of Salem and a member of the Brooklyn Arab "community," reveals that "for the past few weeks, Salem was talking about weird stuff, trying to set people up"; and Salem's buddy believes that Salem may indeed have "instigated" the entire bomb plot. Naughty, naughty fellas, that's called "entrapment," a venerable though immoral device, that might get the entire case against Siddig and his merry crew thrown out somewhere down the line. What would have been Salem's motive for such dastardly actions? The answer, disclosed by a law-enforcement informant, is that Salem received hefty payment from the FBI for his information. In that way, the good Colonel was provided with an alluring "financial opportunity" for manufacturing said "information" and for "setting up" Siddig and the boys, especially since Salem's jewelry design business seems to be in shaky shape.

Who Were the Terrorists? The Waco Inferno

Who exactly *are* "terrorists," and what do they do? For a while, the neocons, who as usual appear to have a monopoly on pundits, in this case "counter-terrorism experts," used to define terrorism in such a way that the word applied only to dissidents *opposed* to government. But since this definition left out terrorist-inciting Bad Guy governments, the concept was then expanded to include "State terror," so as to encompass the governments of Iran, Libya, the Soviet Union, etc.

But if we are willing to include "State terror," and surely we should, then we should begin to assess exactly who are the terrorists in many recent dramatic confrontations.

Take the massacre and inferno at Waco. Most people are familiar with this horror, so I will just summarize briefly:

(1) There is *still* no rationale offered for the brutal first invasion of the Branch Davidian building at Waco. The invasion was an armed assault by hooligans calling themselves the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (BATF). Government officials making an arrest are supposed to knock on the door, ask the home-owners to open up, and hand them a warrant or make the arrest. Yet the BATF went in guns blazing.

(2) There is still no plausible excuse for the original warrant. The Branch Davidians lived as an extended family in a building labelled a "compound" by the Establishment. So what? The Branch Davidians kept arms. So what? Arms for self-defense is still legal in America. But the guns were illegal? Not according to the Davidians, who claim to have bought them at gun shop sales. The BATF mutters that the arms may have been altered to become illegal. For *that*, they went in with guns blazing?

(3) The Establishment has been hinting about "child abuse" by the Davidians. Some evidence, please? Moreover, child abuse is not a federal offense, but a local one, and the state authorities were not concerned.

(4) David Koresh, leader of the Branch Davidians, jogged regularly outside "the compound" (English translation: his home), and also regularly shopped in town. Hence, the BATF could have arrested him peacefully at any time. Why didn't they?

(5) David Koresh had been accused of murdering a rival Davidian leader. Yes, but he was arrested and charged with that crime several years ago (arrested while shopping in town), and was *acquitted* of all charges!

(6) The deaths of the "four brave young BATF officers" were caused by the Branch Davidians fighting back at an armed assault by people who for all they know could have been gangsters, muggers, or whatever. Self-defense when one's home is invaded by armed assault is, fortunately, still legal in this country.

(7) There was no excuse either for the second and final

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assault at Waco. The Janet Reno explanation that the BATF/FBI team were getting "tired" sitting out there surrounding the "compound," sounds like some funny, cynical statement that a Sidney Greenstreet or George Sanders would dream up as an excuse for some violent crime. If they were tired, they could have sent another shift in, or, better yet, they *could have gone home*.

(8) Knowing that there were many families in the compound, why did the BATF/FBI cut off all the electricity and the water? And since the electricity was cut off, doesn't the testimony of the Davidian survivors make sense: that they had to use kerosene lamps and that therefore the terrible fire arose when the Federal tank began to bulldoze the Davidian home, turning over a kerosene lamp and setting the fire?

Since this is clearly the plausible explanation and the testimony of this holocaust's survivors, why does everyone believe the Establishment hokum that Koresh and the Davidians killed themselves in a mighty Apocalypse?

(9) Everyone believes the Establishment hokum because the Clinton/Reno/Federal establishment, happily aided by the left- secularist media, deliberately smear the Davidians as "religious nuts," a "crazed cult," and people who, after all, predicted an Apocalypse.

Well, in the first place, their prediction unfortunately turned out to be correct; their prediction, let us remember, was not that *they*, the Davidians, would bring on a fiery Apocalypse and immolate themselves, but that *other people*, Establishment Bad Guys, would visit this disaster upon them. And they proved to be right! Maybe they weren't so nutty after all.

Secondly, once we start defining a "cult," that is once we demonize a group, we are setting up a slope that is not only slippery, but as fast as greased lightning. Does that mean that any religious group that lives together will be targeted for a similar fate? What about monasteries? Convents? Does that mean that the government will start issuing Certificates of Non-Cultness to religious groups?

I speak of the six-foot geekess and alligator-wrestler, La Reno, she with the whining monotone.

(10) Even though the feds had fenced off the remains after the holocaust at Waco, they quickly proceeded to bulldoze the entire site until nothing was left. What other motive could the feds have had than *destruction of the evidence*, so that nobody else could investigate? And why would the feds want to destroy the evidence?

(11) The debasement of our culture was complete when emerging out of this cauldron of horror was. . . a new popular icon and media star! I speak of course of the six-foot geekess and alligator-wrestler, La Reno, she with the whining monotone. She became a media heroine by droning on about "I take full responsibility," which means what? In the old days, "taking full responsibility" for some disaster under your command meant at least one or more of the following; (a) resignation from office, (b) wearing of sackcloth and ashes, (c) a long stretch in the pokey, (d) execution, or (e) falling on your sword. La Reno has performed none of these acts, has done no act of atonement, and the whining drone alone has elevated her to sainthood in the minds of the public!

So: who were the terrorists in the Waco case? The Branch Davidians, who were peacefully minding their own business, who aggressed against no one, who threatened no one, or. . . the U.S. government?

Who Were the Terrorists? The Weaver Case

In August 1992, Randy Weaver, who had been besieged in his mountain cabin for 11 days by federal agents who killed his wife and child and dog was persuaded to surrender to the authorities by right-wing populist presidential candidate Bo Gritz. The government claimed that this murderous siege of one man and his family was necessary because Weaver was a "neo-Nazi fugitive who had plotted an armed confrontation

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with the authorities."

"Neo-Nazi" seems a vague and inaccurate term: "anti-Semitic" would be closer; Weaver was a member of the Christian Identity movement, which refuses to recognize the legitimacy of the U.S. government because it believes that government to be under the control of organized Jewry. But so what? Doesn't every American have the right to his political beliefs, regardless how distant they are from the mainstream? The important point for the Weaver case, then, is not the precise delineation of his offbeat views, but whether or not he had "plotted an armed confrontation with the authorities."

Let us see. Mr. Weaver, apparently, was not spending his time plotting subversion or revolution, or, like the buddies of the blind sheik, mixing "witches' brews" of bombs to blow up buildings. Weaver's expression of disenchantment with the U.S. Government was to repair, with his family, to the mountains of northern Idaho, to build himself a cabin without electricity or running water, and to live by growing, hunting, and trading, that is, a pioneering, homesteading Western existence. Mr. Weaver was harming no one.

In 1991, undercover agents for the BATF [Again!] showed up, pretending to be Real People, and, knowing that Weaver, an ex- Green Beret, was a gun maven, proposed to buy two of Weaver's shotguns, provided that he would shorten the barrels a certain amount, making them illegal, according to the wisdom of the nation's absurd (and unconstitutional) gun control laws, since they would now be shorter than the legal minimum length by a fraction of an inch. Being an honest man and a trusting soul, Weaver proceeded according to the instructions of his two customers, and when he presented the amended shotguns to them, they placed him under arrest for violating the gun control laws. Hey, if that isn't "entrapment," what is?

The feds put Weaver on trial for violating the gun laws, and then, when he didn't show up for the trial, got a fugitive warrant for Randy Weaver's arrest. The interesting catch, which has come out during the current two-month trial of Randy Weaver, is that the feds now admit that they told Weaver the *wrong date* for the trial! (See the illuminating article by Timothy Egan, "U.S. Case Looks Weaker in Idaho Siege," *N.Y. Times*, June 23). See, it works like this: suppose that you are put on trial on some charge, with the date set for, say, September 1. But *they tell you* that the date is September 20, and then, when you don't show up on Sept. 1, they get a warrant for your arrest as a "fugitive"! Pretty neat, huh?

Curiously, as in the case of the Branch Davidians, the Federal agents, the usual blend of BATF, FBI, and local marshals, never even *considered*, much less attempted simply arresting Weaver, presenting him with a warrant, after they traced Weaver to his mountain cabin. Instead, the feds spent a million dollars on 16 months (!) of surveillance of Weaver, and mounted the final siege deploying no less than 400 heavily armed federal agents.

The first armed confrontation with Weaver began last August, when three expert marksmen from the marshal's service lurked as spies in the woods near the Weaver cabin, heavily armed and camouflaged.

If you were living in an isolated mountain cabin, and your trusted dog sensed intruders in the vicinity, what would *you* do? Exactly. The dog was sent out, accompanied by Weaver's 14-year old son Sam, and a family friend, Kevin Harris. When the dog sniffed out the three agents, they promptly shot and killed the dog. You're a kid, and some unknown intruders have just shot and killed your dog. What would you do? Precisely. Young Sam Weaver fired in the direction of the three agents. Sam Weaver was then killed by at least one of the marshals, who shot Sam—it must be emphasized—*in the back*! At this point, Kevin Harris, seeing his young friend murdered by intruders, shot and killed one of the murdering marshals, William Degan. Harris asserts that he was shooting in self-defense against Degan's threat to fire.

The next day, Mrs. Vicki Weaver, standing, unarmed, in the doorway of her cabin holding her 10-month old baby, was shot and killed by a sharpshooter for the FBI. Is it any wonder, after the murder of his wife and son, that Randy Weaver and his friend Harris were intent on defending themselves to the last, that they didn't trust

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the federal force assembled against them?

After Weaver and Harris were persuaded to surrender by Bo Gritz, the feds put them on trial at Boise, Idaho. Harris is charged with "first-degree murder"; Weaver, who injured and killed no one, is charged with aiding and abetting the "murder" of William Dugan.

How dared the federal sharpshooter kill Mrs. Weaver for standing holding a baby in a doorway? The federal rules of armed engagement state explicitly that an agent may only shoot if the agent's life, or someone else' life, "is in imminent danger." It is obvious to everyone that the murder of Mrs. Weaver flagrantly violated the government's own rules. The explanation of Dick Rogers, the FBI agent in charge of the siege: "that the bureau had altered its rules of armed engagement at the scene." How convenient! If you don't like the rules, or they prove inconvenient, just change them on the spot.

So who were the terrorists in the Weaver Case? Weaver or the entrapping, lying, rule-changing U.S. government?

In addition to all this, at the trial, Gerry Spence, Weaver's crackerjack lawyer, got the FBI to admit that it had taken away, withheld, and fabricated evidence, and government witnesses have contradicted its own case. Federal Judge Edward Lodge has denounced the government's actions, and at one point he declared that three-quarters of the testimony and evidence presented by the prosecution had actually aided the defense.

So who were the terrorists in the Weaver case? Weaver, his friend, and his family, who aggressed against no one, or the entrapping, lying, rule-changing U.S. government?

Similarities and Implications

The *New York Times* article declares that there are a lot of similarities between the Weaver and Waco cases. "In both cases," it says, "what started as a plan to arrest a religious zealot went horrendously off track, resulting in deaths on both sides." Well, I'm not sure how "off track" the results were. And this statement far understates the similarities. In both cases, we are dealing with Christians who have religious ideas off the mainstream. In both cases, you have people who keep to themselves, and who, like most Americans, maintain arms for self- defense, but who harm and threaten no one. In both cases, operating on evidence that is either flimsy or non-existent, the federal government decides that these are "gun control violators," and proceeds against them using maximal aggressive force. In both cases, a massacre ensues, largely of the victims besieged by the U.S. government, but also bringing down a few of the government's aggressors. And in both cases, the Established Media, as usual at the beck and call of the federal government, smear the Christian victims as "religious nuts" or "neo-Nazis," and act as if any problems were caused by unfortunate errors by the government, which is generally lauded for its efforts and behavior.

And where, in all this, is the ACLU?

It is surely no accident that the implications being drawn from all this emphasis on terrorism are fully as horrendous as the government's actions. Establishment implications:

(A) From Waco and Weaver:

— Off-beat Christian sects are dangerous "cults."

— Extended family "cults" are dangerous loners.

— Guns owned by private groups have to be eliminated.

In short: maximum gun control (among the public, of course, *not* among government agencies); and hatred of non-established Christian sects.

(B) From the World Trade Center and the Blind Sheik:

— Muslims are evil and dangerous.

— Arabs are evil and dangerous.

— It is important for the fedral government to infiltrate, and spy upon all Arab and/or Muslim groups.

— The U.S. government must retaliate instantly, by bombing,

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sending missiles against, and eventually invading and occupying: Iraq, Iran, Libya, Sudan, Serbia, Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, and (fill in the blanks).

Of course, these don't *have* to be the implications of the Grand Terrorist Scare. Contrasting ones can be derived, and here are a few Modest Programs for Action:

1. Immediately abolish the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms. Who made these guys God anyway? They began as a method of federal enforcement of prohibition (hence the "Alcohol"), and their time, such as it was, has long since gone. Get rid of them.

2. Immediately abolish all gun controls. Then, you see, no one will have to worry if their shotgun is 1/16 of an inch too short or too long. Remember: guns don't kill people, the BATF kills people. The only thing wrong with guns or any other weapons is using them to aggress against the person and property of innocent people.

Like the BATF or the FBI.

Or like Slick Willie, whose missiles on Baghdad, in retaliation for the non-assassination of his predecessor, killed several innocent Iraqi civilians. In their perfunctory expressions of "regret." Willie and General Powell mentioned that this "collateral damage" (English translation: murder) is part of the "inevitable risks" of such operations. Yeah, right, but the question, Willie and Colin, is risks *for whom*? Risks for the conductors of the operation? Of course not; there are no risks incurred by Clinton, Powell, or any of the other perpetrators of the missile raid. The "risks" are imposed on other folks without their acceptance or knowledge. Shall we call it "the asymmetry of risk"?

So once again: who are the terrorists, here? What quanta of terror-causing should we assign, in their turn to: Slick Willie? The Iraqis in Baghdad? The blind sheik? Randy Weaver? The BATF?

3. Free Randy Weaver, Kevin Harris, The Blind Sheik (if they've nabbed him yet), the Holocaust-Surviving Branch Davidians, and All Political Prisoners.

4. U.S.: Hands Off the Balkans, the Middle East, and Everywhere Else!

5. US Out of the United Nations, and United Nations Out of the U.S! The UN Building? Who knows? Maybe take a leaf from Siddig and the gang and have a grand blow-up next July 4th. Have a *real* Independence Day celebration; what firecrackers! ■

New York Politics '93

by M.N.R.

It's 1993, and this means that the quadrennial political extravaganza has hit New York City. New York's mayor, other high elected city officials, and the City Council, are all up for election this year.

New York is of course a famously left-wing city, and has therefore, sometimes slowly, sometimes rapidly, been going down the tubes for decades. But while the city may be overwhelmingly leftist and Democratic, a complicating factor is race. New York has always been a hotbed of ethnic and racial conflict, but in the days of the old-time political bosses, the guys in the smoked-filled rooms could come out with electoral tickets that were carefully racially and ethnically balanced. Now, however, that primaries, in the name of "democracy," have destroyed the old-time pols and their control of the political parties, ethnic and racial conflict has become naked and unalloyed.

In 1989, New York elected its first black mayor. David Dinkins, famously dubbed the "fancy *shvartze*" by Jewish comedian Jackie Mason, first defeated long-time mayor Ed Koch in the Democratic primary, and then went on to defeat Rudolph Giuliani, the Republican-Liberal candidate, in a narrow squeaker in the general election. The city was hungry for racial harmony, and Dinkins, even though a down-the-line leftist, was perceived as "unthreatening" because of his habitually soft-spoken, nerdy, and worried demeanour. Koch, in contrast, was a typically loud-mouth, perpertually kvetching (complaining) and egomaniacal New Yorker, in politics a "moderate" (English translation: left neo-con). Because of the differences in style, Koch was considered a racial aggravator, while Dinkins was held up as a "racial healer."

In the closely fought general election, Giuliani, being almost as

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left-liberal as his opponent, could not fight on ideas, and so he battled on general style. Giuliani's only claim to fame was as a tough prosecutor, particularly his reign of terror as U.S. Attorney against Wall Street investment bankers and traders who dared to compete effectvely with the Rockefeller World Empire. And so Dinkins the black "healer" ran against Giuliani, the proudly proclaimed tough SOB. It should be no surprise, given our present political culture, that "healing" managed to win against to-the-knife toughness.

For the past four years, Rudolph Giuliani has been "mayor-in-exile," waiting to run again this year. In the meanwhile, Dinins' reign has been an admitted disaster, as the city has sunk even further into poverty, bums-in-control-of-the-streets, and racial conflict. Dinkins the fancy leftist "healer" has turned out to be Dinkins the fancy leftist who has been totally ineffectual at his presumptive healing task. New York City contains three broad ethnic groups: whites, blacks, and Hispanics (in effect Puerto Ricans). In 1989, the whites were overwhelmingly for Giuliani, blacks for Dinkins, and the PRs, the swing votes, were two-thirds for Dinkins. Now, however, the increasingly disillusioned Hispanics are reportedly split fifty-fifty.

And yet, oddly enough, Dinkins is still the favorite, largely for lack of an attractive alternative. Giuliani's chances are better this time, however, and not only because the PRs are more favorably inclined. The big difference is campaign staff. The 1989 Giuliani campaign was a technical disaster, with Giuliani coming across as both mean and wooden. This year, Rudi has hired as his manager the legendary Grand Old Man of political consultants, who virtually pioneered this profession, Little Napoleon David Garth. Garth, who has been around since the 1950s, has won five out of seven mayoral campaigns. Garth's first step was to "humanize" Rudi as much as possible, in the process changing his severe hairdo which had tried unsuccessfully to cover up his bald area.

The city has sunk even further into poverty, bums-in-control-of-the-streets, and racial conflict.

More substantive, however, was Garth's brilliant decision to revive the old New York City tradition of "fusion" campaigns. New York has been overwhelmingly Democratic for a century, and so the way that Republicans can win the mayoralty is in the name of "reform" and "fusion" —that is, a fusion of Republicans, and other self-proclaimed "clean government" elements ("clean" largely because they had had few opportunities at the public though). In fact, there used to be a small but important liberal-wealthy WASP "City Fusion" Party which stood ready to lend its patina to Republican fusion candidates. The most notorious beneficiary of this "fusion" gimmick was the much-beloved ultra-leftist mayoralty of Fiorello La Guardia during the 1930s.

And so David Garth proceeded to reconstitute the Fusion concept. He also proceeded to revive the old, time-honored "balanced" ticket of ethnic and geographical groups as well as parties underneath the "fusion" umbrella. The three major offices are Mayor, City Council President, and Comptroller. City Council President is an office similar to the U.S. Vice-President; the office-holder succeeds the Mayor (President) upon death, and presides over the City Council (U.S. Senate). Hence, while important sounding and officially Number 2, the office-holder has virtually no real function; hence it gets no respect. Indeed, in the latest constitutional "reform" in New York, there was an almost successful attempt to abolish the office altogether. Instead, the Old Guard managed to save the post, and, as a "compromise," changed its name to Public Advocate, an absurd term which draws only a horse-laugh from knowledgeable New Yorkers.

To fill the three slots, there are four possible parties: Republican, Liberal, Democrat, and Conservative. The Liberal Party was founded by Social

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Democrats, in particular the Hat Workers (under Alex Rose) and the Ladies Garment Workers (under David Dubinsky), in the 1940s as a secession from the Communist-dominated American Labor Party. It now remains, since Rose's death, a patronage fiefdom under its maximum boss Raymond Harding. The Conservative Party, to its credit, spurned Giuliani this time as well as last, noting Giuliani's liberalism, and has now nominated on its own line the estimable George Marlin, a young bond-dealer and editor of the collected works of the great G.K. Chesterton. But the Liberals are in Giuliani's camp this time as well.

Dave Garth also had to juggle ethno-religious balance, as well as geographic balance from New York's four major boroughs: Manhattan, The Bronx, Brooklyn, and Queens. In the ethnic balance, there was no need to consider a black, since Giuliani is implicitly, though of course not explicitly, running on a white racial slate against the Dinkins (black) domination of New York.

Rudi Giuliani is a Republican-Liberal from Manhattan. For Public Advocate, Garth reached into the Brooklyn Democrat Party, and chose City Councilwoman Susan Alter. Not only does this bring in both the populous borough of Brooklyn *and* Jewry, but Alter's husband is a prominent Orthodox Jew, which both cements and dramatizes the reaching out to Brooklyn Jewry, which in contrast to left-liberal Manhattan Jewry, tends to be Orthodox, socially conservative, and has also been embroiled with blacks in the most conspicous confrontation of Dinkins' mayoralty. In the late summer of 1991, long-standing tensions erupted between blacks, who tend to be more militant in Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant section than are the blacks in Harlem, and the Hasidic Jewish community of neighboring Crown Heights. When the Lubavetcher Rebbe was returning in a auto caravan from his weekly visit to his wife's grave, a driver of one of the cars went through a red light, caromed off another car, and ran over and killed a black kid. In their "rage," the black "community" of Crown Heights escalated their standard behavior, and rioted for three days, particularly seeking out Jews (that is visible Jews, such as Hasidics, who wear the garb of eighteenth-century Eastern Europe) to beat up. In the course of this continuing riot, blacks murdered a visiting Australian Hasid, Yankel Rosenbaum. The alleged murderers of Rosenbaum were freed by a pre-

Quotes That Need No Comment

The unnatural and increasingly rapid growth of the feeble- minded and insane classes, coupled as it is with steady restriction among all the thrifty, energetic, and superior stocks, constitutes a national and race danger which it is impossible to exaggerate. I feel that the source from which the stream of madness is fed should be cut off and sealed off before another year has passed. — Winston Churchill

As for [David Patrick] Stearns' inept comments on Streisand's "nervous" vibrato and a voice not "in bloom" at high volume, most of the songs are about love...or the crises we face in life. Since when are moments like these sung in perfectly polished tones? — Letter in *USA Today*

There's nothing dysfunctional about Roger Clinton, according to sex therapist Dr. Judy Kuriansky, who had the First Brother on her 2-100 "Love Phones" show... "He has raging hormones. He's very energetic. He's open. He wants to be liked," Dr. Judy told friends... — "Page Six," *New York Post*

Asylum policy was always driven by cold war politics, with some refugees prized as the enemies of our enemies who were voting with their feet. Now that no refugees are seen as strategic assets in geopolitical confrontation, they all have become solely a headache. — Frank Sharry, executive director, National Immigration, Refugee and Citizenship Forum

This Year's Prophet: With Tikkun, his magazine of the Jewish left, and his catch phrase, "the politics of meaning," Michael Lerner has become the Clinton's Norman Podhoretz. — *New York Sunday Times Magazine*

At the roots of Western civilization stand the Jews. The grandeur of the West is based on monotheism. Western civilization didn't begin in ancient Athens, imperial Rome or the Court of Charlemagne. It started at a mountain in the Sinai peninsula 3,300 years ago. The barbarians who would war on the West—Nazis, Marxists, Afrocentrists, multiculturalists — will target the Jews, sooner or later. — Don Feder, syndicated columnist.

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dominantly black jury; and while Brooklyn Jewry was "enraged," for some reason they did not "express their rage" at the jury verdict in the rioting, looting, and murdering way that the "black community" of Los Angeles "expressed itself" after the first verdict in the trial of the LA cops who beat up the criminal Rodney King.

This left the Comptrollership, where Dave Garth pulled off another coup. There were originally several people running against Dinkins in the Democrat primary for Mayor, hoping that lightning will strike them as it struck Dinkins in the primary against Koch four years ago. One of them was Herman Badillo. Badillo is an odd case. A formerly beloved and the most prominent Puerto Rican leader from the major PR borough, The Bronx, Badillo seemed to be the Golden Boy of Puerto Ricans in New York. He held many high city offices, including Deputy Mayor, but he never achieved the brass ring; running many times for Mayor and never making it, Badillo has been out of politics for years, and was and is in danger of becoming the Puerto Ricans' Harold Stassen.

Sometimes it seemed that Jews were more enthusiastic about Herman than were the Puerto Ricans.

What happened to Herman? He was prickly, but so are a lot of other politicos. He was and is far more intelligent than most politicians, but that might well be his problem: for he was too intelligent, too white (in both skin color and demeanour), and too moderate in his views to be considered an "authentic" *barrio* Puerto Rican by his ethnic confreres. He would never pass muster before some Puerto Rican Lani Guinier. Furthermore, he was and is married to a Jewish wife, and sometimes it seemed that Jews were more enthusiastic about Herman than were the Puerto Ricans.

Still and all, Herman threw his hat into the Democratic ring for mayor, and now, in 1993, his views had become far more conservative than his previous left-liberalism. But Badillo ran out of money early, and had to drop out of the mayoral primary. Hence, he was ripe for Dave Garth's coup. Badillo is now back, running for Comptroller, on Democratic, Liberal, and Republican slates, with the warm endorsement of Giuliani. Not only that: his old friend Mayor Koch enthusiastically embraced Badillo, perhaps a harbinger of a Kochian endorsement for Giuliani himself later in the summer or fall.

Everything was now in place for the Fusion ticket: Manhattan Italian Catholic and Republican Rudi Giuliani for Mayor, Brooklyn Orthodox Jewish Democrat Susan Alter for Public Advocate, and Bronx Puerto Rican Protestant Democrat with a Jewish wife, Herman Badillo for Comptroller.

What about the Democat, or Dinkins, side? Here there are no "tickets," and it is every man for himself. Dinkins originally had a formidable primary opponent, Andrew Stein, now City Council President and formerly Borough President of Manhattan. Stein was slated to be the Jewish Golden Boy of New York politics. Blessed with a very wealthy, smart, and power-broker father, the publisher Jerry Finkelstein, there seemed to be no stopping Andy (who apparently changed his name to "Stein" in a feeble attempt at Anglicization). Moving up the political ladder, Stein supposedly had everything: money, good looks (his once callow youth now changing to fashionable graying at the temples), and a power-broker father. But there was one pall hanging over Andy: even in a profession not exactly peopled by intellectual giants, Andy became known as overweeningly, disastrously, DUMB. Being dumb is not necessarily a disqualification in politics, of course, but it means that he must be careful to pick very smart managers and handlers.

Usually, Andy, aided by his pop, managed to pick smart advisers. But this year, he came a cropper. Raising and spending millions, Andy made the disastrous boo-boo of picking as his top political consultant one Phil Friedman, who made a series of terrible mistakes. Even now, that Andy has dropped out of the mayoral race and fired his

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staff, he finds himself locked into an ironclad and long-term contract, in which he pays Friedman an enormous $22,000 *a month*.

One of Andy's big mistakes was ideological. Sensing that the way to beat Dinkins was to Go Right, Andy had been getting increasingly conservative, hanging around the free-market think-tank, the Manhattan Institute, and picking up ideas for tax- cutting and privatization. Unfortunately, whether he knew it or not, Andy also picked up the other idea dominant among Left- libertarian think-tanks: to combine free-market ideas in economics with leftism in social issues. As a result, Andy enthusiastically endorsed the pro-gay Rainbow Curriculum, which the heroic Queens parent, Mary Cummins, managed to stop permanently in the Board of Education; and Andy marched in every gay parade he could find. While the idea of "fiscal conservatism"-and-social leftism may be big at preppie/yuppie cocktail parties, there are not many votes for this combo out on the hustings. Hence, the public support for Andy kept dropping like a stone, and he was finally forced, by his own political allies, and despite his money and Koch's endorsement, to drop ignominiously out of the race.

What to do? Poor Andy was reduced to running for re-election to his own City Council President (oops, Public Advocate) seat. But Andy's election is far rom assured. Before he even gets to the general election, he faces a crowded and formidable group in the Democrat primary.

In addition to facing La Alter in the Democrat primary (who will continue on the Republican and Liberal ballots in the general election), Stein faces another Brooklyn Jewish candidate, State Senator Donald M. Halperin, and a serious black candidate, Harlem's State Senator David A. Paterson, son of the important black leader and friend of Dinkins, Basil A. Paterson. In addition, Stein faces a formidable Puerto Rican candidate, Bronx State Assemblyman Roberto Ramirez. Finally, perhaps Stein's most formidable obstacle to re-election is the high-profile and abrasive leftist Manhattan Jew, Mark Green. Green, former U.S. Senate candidate against Al D'Amato, and Dinkins' former Commissioner for Consumer Affairs, was a Naderite lawyer who has appeared often as the leftist on *Crossfire*. Green was reportedly vetoed by Pat Buchanan as his *Crossfire* counterpart after Tom Braden was kicked out by CNN.

The Stein-Green race is expected to be close, and predicting becomes very difficult with so many in the field. Although Stein has already raised and spent over $4 million in his mayoralty campaign, he is expected to raise plenty more in his race for re-election. Green, on the other hand, has the high-profile image. An interesting cross-current: Paterson will by no means collar "the black vote." On the contrary, as a Harlem leader, he faces a tremendous conflict between the blacks of Harlem and of Brooklyn and Queens. This conflict transcends ideologies, as witness the fact that the leftist Congressman Major R. Owens of Brooklyn has endorsed Stein over his black "brother" Paterson.

Amidst this murk, Dinkins decided the better part of valor is to endorse no one, and to smile benignly on all. Hence, there will be no "ticket" on the Democratic side.

In the meanwhile, there is also a hot fight for Comptroller. The incumbent, running for re-election, is former Congresswoman Liz Holtzman, the tough, mannish woman from Brooklyn whose pit bull attack on the ethics of Geraldine Ferraro, trying for a comeback in the primary for U.S. Senate last year, managed to dump Ferraro and to nominate Bob Abrams. Running against Ferraro in the primary are Herman Badillo and Queens Assemblyman Alan Hevesi. Openly rooting against Holtzman is La Ferraro, thirsting for revenge.

Andy Stein's and Badillo's withdrawal leaves Dinkins himself without significant primary opposition, but there remains the fascinating phenomenon of Roy Innis, head of the Congress of Racial Equality. Innis has long since become a conservative, and his role is not so much that of a "spoiler," as an aid to Giuliani, since Innis is allowed to "play the racial card," which Giuliani cannot openly do. Innis, in short, can and has denounced Dinkins for black racism against white, a charge all the more effective because Innis's own skin color is far "blacker" than the beige-skinned Dinkins. Innis can there-by play to the hidden tensions within the "black

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community," which itself has always been rife with jealousies and "prejudices" among varying degrees of skin color. Darker-skinned women, for example, are anxious to marry "upward" with lighter-skinned males. It is no accident, therefore, that such black conservatives as Tom Sowell and Alan Keyes are very dark-skinned, and that their rhetoric against the black leftist elite is often shot through with attacks against these leaders' generally light-skinned mulatto color. Sometimes they accuse the leftist leaders of not being "authentically" black.

Dinkins's position opens him up to the well-known charge of "insensitivity" to Jewish concerns.

Thus, Innis will definitely not win the mayoral Democrat primary, but he will be useful to Giuliani by openly raising racial issues.

Meanwhile, since substantive issues are scarce, the big battle between Dinkins and Rudi during June has been over semantics. Our age is all too often a battle over the politics of language, and its Political Correctness, and the big issue now is what term to use in referring to the Crown Heights riot of blacks against Jews in the late summer of 1991. Jews call it a "pogrom," and then raise the question why Mayor Dinkins stood idly by while a pogrom raged in Brooklyn. Giuliani has now taken up the cry, and denounces the "pogrom" at every opportunity, especially when addressing Jewish groups. Dinkins, on the contrary, denies it was a "pogrom," a term, he says, that only refers to assaults against Jews organized by the government (as in Czarist Russia). Dinkins therefore maintains it was only a "riot." From a strictly linguistic viewpoint, Dinkins is probbably right, but of course his position opens him up to the well-known charge of "insensitivity" to Jewish concerns, and, of course, always peeping just beneath the surface, to Hitler and The Holocaust. One Jewish reply on the linguistic front is that the Crown Heights riot was a "*de facto pogrom,*" whatever that may be.

Talk of politics as the triumph of symbolism over substance! ■

Goldwater Reconsidered

by M.N.R.

Here's a good rule of thumb: Beware all conservatives who are praised extravagantly by Left-liberals. The latest conservative to get treatment 180-degrees different from the old days is, of course, Barry Goldwater. In mid-June, the octogenarian former Senator was suddenly trotted out: in an article in the *Washington Post* and in an appearance on "Larry King Live," to come out squarely in favor of gays in the military. The same liberals who, three decades ago, denounced Goldwater as a nut and a danger to the Republic now hold him up as the lovable "Mr. Conservative" against the nutty and dangerous group that good old conservatism has now become. It reminds me of the old Tennessee Williams line: "Mendacity! Ah smell mendacity!"

What's happened to Barry? In an excellent article reporting on the issue, Ralph Z. Hallow writes in the *Washington Times* ("Goldwater Allies Say He's Wrong On Gays," June 12) that Goldwater's position stems from his libertarian view that "government should stay out of people's private lives," Hallow notes that Goldwater's statement "reveals that doctrinal tension between conservatism's libertarian strain, which objects to government intrusion in private lives, and conservatism's moral strain, which says government has no business undermining traditional standards of behavior." It is not surprising to find Karl Hess, the Grand Old Man of left-libertarianism and Goldwater's 1964 speech writer, hailing Goldwater's position as consistent with his "unshakable libertarian principles."

It is also not surprising to find Goldwater and Hess hopelessly confused in their alleged expounding of libertarianism. In the first place, joining the military automatically surrenders

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one's "privacy"; the very essence of military life is an infringement on privacy. Moreover, there is no more "right" to enter the military than there is a "right" to be hired as a deep-sea diver; it depends on one's qualifications as defined by the organization in question. If the military decides that open gaydom destroys the essential cohesion of a unit, that should be an end to the question.

Secondly, Goldwater's "unshakable libertarian principle" goes far beyond the right to be a homosexual in private; he also favors a Phoenix city ordinance outlawing "discrimination against homosexuals" in the workplace. The old Barry Goldwater, the Goldwater of 1964, would have recognized the difference between a wish and a right, and would have recognized the vicious invasion of private property rights embodied in any and all "anti-discrimination" laws, for gays or anyone else.

In fact, there has been a tremendous change for the worse between the old and the new Goldwater. The new Goldwater has the nerve to parrot the liberal line that anti-homosexual discrimination in the military is analogous to anti-black discrimination decades ago. I say "the nerve" because the old Goldwater, if we can remember that far back, opposed the entire vicious "civil rights" and "anti-discrimination" structure, including the original laws concerning blacks.

The *other* former "Mr. Conservative," Bill Buckley, as usual takes his fumbling, rococo position somewhere in the middle between the two camps. Defending the genuine conservative position is a good selection: Gary Bauer, saying "it grieves" him that Goldwater doesn't understand the social struggle, Rep. Bob Dornan, and two figures very familiar to readers of *RRR*. Lew Rockwell speaks pungently, more in anger than in sorrow: "When I was in college, I sent $300 to Goldwater for his presidential campaign, and I want my money back." And Paul Gottfried points out that Goldwater was considered a conservative in the 60s because he spoke for the issues that then mattered most to conservatives: anti-communist foreign policy and dismantling the welfare state. Paul adds that Goldwater was probably never conservative on social issues, but then, social issues weren't that important in the 1960s.

Goldwater favors a Phoenix city ordinance outlawing "discrimination against homosexuals" in the workplace.

An excellent insight by Paul, but I would add that, apart from abortion, a genuinely new issue introduced by *Roe v. Wade*, most of the other social issues are the consequence of the rampant victimology ushered in by the "civil rights," anti-black-discrimination laws of the 1960s, and that the entire 1960s Right, including Goldwater and Buckley, were staunchly opposed to civil-rights tyranny. In short, whatever their sins in the 1960s, Goldwater-Buckley conservatism is far worse today; and the critical conversion was deciding later to put "civil rights" far above the genuine rights of private property.

I sympathize with Lew Rockwell's disillusion; like almost all conservatives of his generation, Lew cut his political eyeteeth with the Goldwater campaign of 1964. Our difference here is generational: I was an Old Right Taft Republican, and my opposition to Goldwater stemmed not only from his anti-communist internationalist foreign policy (which he shared with *National Review*), but also to the personal fact that Goldwater, as an Eisenhower delegate to the 1952 convention, participated in the outrageous theft of the Republican nomination from Taft by the Wall Street-Rockefeller forces, a campaign that used the internationalist media to smear Taft viciously, and used their control of a network of banks to blackmail Taft delegates into voting for Eisenhower. So from my perspective, Goldwater was, from the very beginning, an internationalist sellout rather than a man of "unshakable principle." (On the 1952 outrage, see Chesly Manly, *The Twenty-Year Revolution: From Roosevelt to Eisenhower*, Henry

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Regnery, 1954.)

So, in short: while Goldwater-Buckley conservatism of the 1960s was a far way down from Old Right-Taft conservatism of the 1940s and 50s, it still shines far above current Goldwater conservatism and Buckley conservatism (if he can ever figure out what it is) like a beacon.

Well, one thing I'll say for the current Goldwater: he's against U.S. intervention in Bosnia. I don't know if it compensates for his idiotic prediction that "I think Clinton's going to do all right," but at least it shows that Barry hasn't yet become a social democrat. May as well look on the bright side. ■

Conservatives and the Role of Congress

by Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr.

Conservatives are going through another of their periodic intellectual spasms over the relationship between the executive branch and Congress. The controversy, which dates back to at least the New Deal, centers on which branch of government should have the say in budgets, regulatory policy, foreign affairs, and judicial appointments.

Even though the Constitution makes Congress the preeminent branch of government, during the 1980s, conservatives argued for an imperial presidency. Of course, they didn't call it that. Instead, they argued that *Congress* was imperial, a trespasser on the justly expansive powers of the president.

Conservatives had been semi-imperialists on this question when Nixon was chief executive, but they started salaaming the White House when Congress questioned Ronald Reagan's foreign mercenary armies, and naturally, the argument spilled over into domestic policy.

By the late eighties, it was an article of the conservative faith that the president had, and

More Quotes That Need No Comment

In Andrew Motion's book [on Philip Larkin] we have the constant sense that Larkin is somehow falling short of the cloudless emotional health enjoyed by (for instance) Andrew Motion.... Motion maintains the tone of an overworked psychotherapist dealing with a hidebound depressive who, exasperatingly, keeps failing to respond to the latest modern treatments.... The mood of the book is one of...mounting impatience.

It sometimes seems that the basis of the vexation is that Larkin was born in 1922, rather than more recently. Not only is he not well adjusted; *he doesn't want to do anything about it*. There are no serious shots at self-improvement, at personal growth....

Larkin the man is separated from us, historically, by changes in the self. For his generation, you were what you were, and that was that. It made you unswervable and adamantine. My father [Kingsley Amis] has this quality. I don't. None of us do. There are too many forces at work on us. — Martin Amis, *The New Yorker*

People don't trust him [Clinton]. He comes into office saying he's a populist, and the first thing he does is support gay rights. — Alan Baron, Democratic strategist, *Wall St. Journal*

We've seen this before. If we wanted a second-rate Yalie who lied about taxes to cover up mismanagement of the economy, we had one already. — Kevin Phillips, *Wall St. Journal*

These other ex-Bushies—Dick Cheney, Lamar Alexander, Lynn Martin. What do these people bring to the spice table? It's sort of like, what demand was there for Herbert Hoover's cabinet? — Kevin Phillips, *Wall St. Journal*

What the country requires, she [Hillary Clinton] concludes, is a new "conversation," indeed "millions of conversations."..."Millions of conversations," of course is the most cherished fantasy of Clintonism. This is a talkative presidency.... Often he seems to think that he has acted when he has merely spoken.... Mrs. Clinton's "conversation" is...a metaphor for the activity of the mind...known as anti- foundationalism...or pragmatism, according to which truth is nothing more than consensus, which is to say, a communal thing. The old aspiration to objectivity, which was an exercise in exclusion, has been usurped by a new aspiration to solidarity, which is an exercise in inclusion; and where once there were rational deliberations that led to an end, there are now emotional conversations that lead everywhere, and never end....

Conversation seems so much more tolerant than ratiocination. It is so respectful, so *nice*. Alas...there is no point in looking for consensus where there is no consensus.... Better, surely, a sharpening of distinctions and a war of ideas, followed by what used to be known as leadership. — Leon Wieseltier, *The New Republic*

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should have, autonomous policy authority. Conservatives even called the president the nation's "commander-in-chief," as if he were in charge of civil society.

The president should have the line-item veto, they told us, because it would gut Congressional authority over spending. All laws applying to the public ought to apply to Congress too, even though this would empower minor bureaucrats over legislators. Congressional terms should be limited, while bureaucrats serve for decades, further enhancing the arbitrary power of the executive branch.

The president, the *Wall Street Journal* told us, should even assume the power to change tax laws on his own say so, as in lowering the capital gains tax. The *Journal* also wanted the president to assume, by executive fiat, the line-item veto, and to have full authority over international trade.

Maybe they thought they'd never lose the White House. Yet now, conservatives' only friends are in the legislative branch. Congress, in fact, is the only bulwark against full Clintonian statism. Only by using the powers and tactics—filibusters, partisan speeches, agitation about the rules, etc.—that the Democrats used in the eighties against Reagan's adventurism can a liberal president be hampered.

None of this squares, of course, with the eighties conservative belief that Congress's role is to shut up, vote money, and salute the prez. But if Congressional Republicans today bowed down before him the way they wanted the Democrats to under Reagan, Clinton would have had a permanent honeymoon out of "respect for the office of the presidency."

Yet while grass-roots conservatives cheered on Bob Dole's attack on Clinton's "stimulus," the conservative leadership is still mired in error. A prominent think tank in Washington, D.C., has mailed out a million copies of *The Ruling Class* by Eric Felten, which traces all of America's troubles to a handful of Hill staffers. And former Bush speechwriter Tony Snow, now a columnist for the *Detroit* News, argues on National Public Radio for a caesarist presidency and a rubber-stamp Congress. Yet if any of Bill and Hillary's new taxes, new spending, and socialized medicine is stopped, it will be thanks to Congress.

"We have a dictator," said Flynn "when the unlimited powers" of the modern government "are deposited with the executive."

When our conservative forebears decried Roosevelt's New Deal, it wasn't just for his misguided and statist policies. They also denounced the power he wielded at the expense of the legislature. It was this that led Old Right journalist John T. Flynn to decry Roosevelt as the American Mussolini.

"We have a dictator," said Flynn "when the unlimited powers" of the modern government "are deposited with the executive." All statists, he said, want the "powers of the central government" to be "concentrated in the executive" with the Congress "a mere supervisory body."

Today, the conservative leadership would endorse the far-left plan of New Deal economist Alvin H. Hansen, as outlined in the June 27, 1942, *Journal of Commerce*.

First, said Hansen, "Congress will surrender to the administration the power to tax, keeping to itself the right only to establish broad limits within which the administration may move." Second, "Congress will appropriate huge sums; will surrender the power of directing how and when they will be spent." Third, "Other extraordinary powers such as, for instance, to effect wholesale social reforms, will be delegated to the administration which will retain most, if not all, of its present extraordinary wartime controls." President worshippers like Elliot Abrams and Terry Eastland would not disagree.

The habit of presidential deification may be so ingrained that it cannot be broken. But conservatives should do their best. It is far better to trust a Congress controlled by either party than a president whose minions spend 99.9% of the federal budget

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and regulate our businesses, families, and communities with such menacing meticulousness.

For example, Congress is far closer to the people. The millions of unelected bureaucrats in the executive branch have contact with us only when they place their boots on our backs. And the president watches abstractions like the polls.

A Congressmen never gets through the day without some contact with his constituents, people who pay the taxes and have to live under the laws he votes on. Yes, many are seeking favors and privileges. But more complain about high taxes and the burdens of the federal bureaucracy, and Congressmen and their staffs have to listen.

Congressional supremacy is far from a perfect system, but it's leagues ahead of the executive tyranny that the Founders, and their English parliamentary predecessors, hated and feared.

If we get through the next few years without 100% of the Clintonian program being fastened on us, we can thank Congress. Conservatives ought to be leading the applause. ■

The Racial Attack on Banks

by L.H.R., Jr.

Credit reports, a magnificent invention of the free market, help ensure that credit is extended to those who deserve it: responsible people with good jobs and good prospects, who pay their bills and save for the future. Naturally, therefore, the entire notion of creditworthiness is under attack.

For example, the *The Washington Post* has just published a three-part series on the question. In "Separate and Unequal" (June 6-8, 1993), staff writers Joel Glenn Brenner and Liz Spayd claim pervasive racial discrimination in mortgage lending.

The *Post*'s story accused Maryland, D.C., and Northern Virginia banks and thrifts of giving twice as many mortgages to white neighborhoods as to "comparable" black ones.

But the study was guilty of excessive aggregation. The authors tried to prove that individual bankers are biased against individual loan applicants, but they analyzed only data involving whole communities. If 75% of the people in one neighborhood were of one race, that race defined the area.

This alone invalidates the study. If an area were 80% white and 20% black, it was defined as white for the purposes of the study. Blacks in this neighborhood were included in the "white community" loan pool. If a middle-class black family got a loan, it appeared as a white loan, and thus contributed to the *Post*'s claim of racism. That is, the *Post* deliberately excluded well-to-do blacks in mostly white areas from its black category.

The authors also claimed to discover racism in the loans given to "comparable" communities. This suggests that they adjusted for factors that banks take into account. But they did not. They looked at and adjusted for overall—but not specific—levels of income, as if your neighbor's salaries were what a banker cared about when considering you for a loan.

Unlike bankers, the authors chose to ignore the credit and job histories of specific individuals. Neither did they compare black-white default rates. Writing in *Forbes* about a Boston Federal Reserve study, Peter Brimelow showed that the default rate on loans for blacks and whites in the study was nearly identical. This means that bankers were making correct decisions. If they had been giving blacks fewer loans than they deserved, blacks would have had *lower* default rates that whites.

Assets are an important criterion for loans. The higher the dollar value of assets, the more likely a loan can be paid back, and therefore the more likely the loan will be granted. But the assets of the median black family are one-tenth those of the median white family. Only 35% of black households involve married couples, another key predictor of loan payback. And, according to a NationsBank study, blacks are twice as likely as whites to have credit problems.

As the November 1992 *Federal Reserve Bulletin* admits, "minority applicants on average" have "weaker credit histories, fewer liquid assets, and lower net worths and incomes than white applicants." Doesn't that alone explain the disparity?

Another study often cited as proving systematic racial discrimination comes from the left-

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wing Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN). In the ominously entitled "Take the Money and Run" (June 8, 1992), ACORN says that black communities receive relatively fewer mortgages as compared to their deposits in local banks than white communities.

Between 1989 and 1990, said the study, for every dollar on deposit from black neighborhoods, about four cents was loaned out in mortgages, but in white neighborhoods, the figure was eight cents. But just how relevant is this deposit/loan ratio? Loans are not given to "communities," but to individuals with good credit ratings, sufficient assets, and steady jobs. The study ignores these variables, and therefore can be ignored itself.

The loan gap, in other words, was explained by racial differences in creditworthiness.

And what of the famous Boston Fed study? The author (Alicia Munnell, now gone to glory in the Clintonian Treasury) admitted to Brimelow that while she believes "discrimination occurs," she has *no evidence* for it. "No one has evidence," she added.

Enough of bogus studies. In 1989, the New York State Banking Department did a real examination of ten New York banks that had been accused of discrimination. The department looked at the applications of specific individuals and concluded that the banks had applied their underwriting standards objectively. The loan gap, in other words, was explained by racial differences in creditworthiness.

In broad terms, the hierarchy of loan success runs as follows:

1) Asians
2) whites
3) Hispanics
4) blacks.

And we could predict this based on the percentage of financial success within each group. In 1991, only 12.1% of Asians who applied for conventional home mortgages had incomes lower than 80% of the median family income for the relevant Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area. Correspondingly, only 15% were denied loans. For others, the figures were: whites, 22.9% (17.3% denied), Hispanics, 26.2% (26.6% denied), and blacks, 39.8% (37.6% denied).

The ever-expanding welfare state has looted the taxpayers for many years now, and imposed horrific burdens on business as well. Faced with unending demands from their welfare clients and resistance from the cash cows, lawmakers are turning to the pool of loanable funds. The nation's system of banking and credit is being used to redistribute the wealth.

After decades of social experimentation, isn't it time to hark back to an old truth? Prosperity requires people who save, defer gratification, live within their means, and conduct themselves so as to earn the trust of others. Giving credit where it's not due only subverts these values. ■

P.C. Watch

by L.H.R., Jr.

Ghetto Life 101

The citadel of P.C., National Public Radio (or National Commie Radio, as I prefer to call it), has been in racial turmoil ever since running a piece called "Ghetto Life 101" last month on "All Things Considered." Two black boys, 13 and 14, were given tape recorders and sent out to do interviews. NPR aired them, interspersed with such things as the sound of the boys breaking car windshields.

Black staffers at NPR called the piece "irresponsible journalism at its worst" during a 5½ hour complaint session. According to black reporter Phyllis Crockett, NPR repeated "every negative stereotype of poor, inner-city black life." It was "a new low in which arrogant whites use unsuspecting blacks for preconceived notions" (*Washington Post*, 7/1/93).

Boisterousness

"In the last year or so," reports the *New York Times* (7/1/93), "the after-school adolescent boisterousness and loitering has grown more pronounced

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around the Mount Hebron Middle School" in once-ritzy Montclair, N.J. "Vulgar graffiti" are more common, signed by "Da Hard Hedz." Now seven members of the gang have been arrested for raping two 14-year-old girls near the school.

But D. Swift, who claims to be the disc jockey for the outfit, insists that his fellow members are innocent, and that Da Hard Hedz is a rap group, not a gang. "People are trying to slam our name," he said. "They're trying to make our name seem bad."

STDs

We need "ethnically relevant interventions," says Rani Eversley of the University of California, San Francisco, in the journal *Ethnicity & Disease* (*Washington Times*, 7/8/93). Her new study claims that the rate of sexually transmitted diseases is stratospheric among black women. Seventy percent of black women under 24 who visit Planned Parenthood clinics, she says, and 72% over 24, have had STDs (syphilis, gonorrhea, herpes). The rate rises to 82% for the unemployed, she asserts, and to 100% for those with less than 12 years of education.

The Ministry of Truth

The Liberty Monument in New Orleans, which commemorates the 1874 attempt by Confederate veterans to overthrow the corrupt and tyrannical Republican occupation government of Louisiana, is about to go down the memory hole. Moved from its original location to a seedy sidestreet, it still outrages civil rights leaders, who want—in the words of the Rev. Avery Alexander, a state representative—to "dump it in the Gulf of Mexico." The compromise is to dump it in a warehouse, so the "healing process can begin," according to Earl Jackson, director of the city's Human Relations Commission (*NYT*, 7/6/93).

Safe Havens

Public schools must be "safe havens" for gay and lesbian students, said Gov. William Weld of Massachusetts to a group of homosexual teachers at the leftist Arlington Street Church in Boston. He will "create an atmosphere of dignity and respect for gay youth in our schools," he said. Teachers and students will undergo sensitivity training, and support centers for gays will be funded in each school. "This is very, very pioneering," said Torie Osborn of the Gay and Lesbian Task Force in Washington. "I've never known anything on statewide level with the imprimatur of the governor." Frances Kunreuther, head of New York's Hetrick-Martin Institute, which "helps young homosexuals," said "I'm thrilled." Only "extreme conservatives" will object, added Gene Hartigan, head of the Massachusetts Republican Party (*NYT*, 7/4/93).

The Earth Goddess

Pope John Paul II has denounced America's "bitter, ideological... feminism" that has led to "nature worship" that "takes the place of the worship of the God revealed in Jesus Christ." As reported a number of times in this column, enviro-lesbian nuns are worshipping Diana, Isis, the Great Mother, and other green goddesses. The Fathers of the Church identified these pagan deities with demons from Hell. If you've ever met any liberal sisters, you know why.

Baptists and Masons

At the June 18th Southern Baptist Convention in Houston, Texas, the hot topic was Freemasonry, and whether a Christian can be part of the Brotherhood. The Catholic Church has condemned Masonry as an anti-Christian cult for more than two centuries, although Masons and other liberals in the church have softened the penalties since the disaster called Vatican II. The Baptists ruled that although some Masonic teachings are "not compatible with" the Bible, joining the group is a matter of personal conscience. Delegates rejected a harder-core amendment calling Freemasonry a "mixture of paganism and Christianity" that is "condemned by God" (*WP*, 6/19/93).

Criminal Justice

The rap sheet of the young man accused of shooting up a swimming pool and wounding six kids in Washington, D.C., shows how the criminal justice system works in the cities.

Charles Kenneth Duvall was found guilty of welfare fraud and carrying a concealed weapon, the only crimes for which he served time (90 days, on weekends). He was charged with two counts of auto theft, but they were dropped. He was charged with breaking and entering two gun stores and stealing 74 pistols, one time being caught in the act, and was released on

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bond. He was arrested while speeding in a stolen Porsche, and released on bond. He was arrested in another stolen car, and released on bond. He was arrested while stealing a jeep from a mall parking lot, and released on bond. Then all car charges were dropped.

Duvall was picked out of a photo array as a murderer, and the victim turned out to have been killed with a gun Duvall had stolen. The charge was dropped. Then came the swimming pool (*WT*, 7/2/93).

Mixed Races

Mixed-race Americans are demanding that census and other government forms have a box for them to check. The head of Project Race, Susan Graham, who is white and married to a black, testified at a Congressional hearing that she wants her two children to be classified as "multiracial." Libambu Schiller, also the mother of interracial children, said there was "no scientific argument or civil-rights argument" that can "justify why there is no multiracial category." However, the NAACP and Urban League oppose the plan, wanting mixed-race people to be classified as black (*WT*, 7/2/93).

Swept Up

Former Congressman Charles Porter (D-OR) has charged Senator Bob Packwood (R-OR) before the Senate Ethics Committee with falsely claiming to be Jewish in a 1992 fundraising letter. "You and I must help Israel resist pressure to trade our historic homeland for Arab promises," Packwood wrote to potential Jewish contributors. "Only during the diaspora, when we were dispersed to other homelands, did the Jewish people become a minority in our homeland. It was not our fault that we were kicked out by the Babylonians in the 6th century B.C., or by the Romans shortly after the start of the Christian period...."

Packwood rejected the charge. He wrote in a "personalized sense" because he "felt so swept up in the legitimacy of Israel's cause" (*WT*, 7/1/93).

The Lonesome Sax

HUD secretary Henry Cisneros is a "Lonely Clarion Against Racism," says a *New York Times* headline (7/8/93). Yes, the Clinton administration, is unconcerned and uninvolved in the race rip-off. White racism is "at the core of the problems which confront America's cities," says Cisneros, and conservatives in both parties, he charges, ignore this. One of Cisneros's plans: implant public housing in suburbs to destroy the white middle class, although he doesn't put it quite that way. He says he wants to end "spatial separation" so inner city residents can get away from "violence and drug abuse" by leaving those impersonal forces behind.

One of Cisneros's plans: implant public housing in suburbs to destroy the white middle class.

"Conservative analysts have viewed the same circumstances and faulted inert public school bureaucracies, rampant teen-age pregnancy, or leniency towards crime," says the *Times*. "Mr. Cisneros argues that the villain is racism." Are these our only two choices? Or could the villain be the villains?

Monster Mash

"A transsexual professor from a Jesuit university," reports John Leo (*WT*, 7/10/93), was a leading speaker at an academic conference on "Rage" at Cal State, San Marcos. Susan Stryker, a boy from Oklahoma turned into a "leather dyke," is furious because lesbians don't accept him as a woman. Shengmei Ma of James Madison University in Virginia is enraged because his white students don't accept their guilt. As a graduate student, said Ma, he was oppressed by a minimum-wage job in the library, which "reduced me to a little yellow boy." And now he has to teach whites at a "second-rate" school.

James Chipman, a gay activist, hinted that only "armed conflict" could displace heterosexism. He then bared his chest to show "simulated scars from gay bashing, and donned an Army uniform." Ian Bernard of San

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Diego State then talked on why he "supports gay bashing"—of gays, that is, "who want to join mainstream America" and who endorse "free speech, the American Dream, and other such [b.s.]."

Sharon O'Dair, a Shakespeare specialist at the University of Alabama, said he used "ain't" to reflect her blue-collar roots, but was in a quandary. She wanted to teach the oppressed about Shakespeare, but realized—with rage, of course—that "books institutionalize subordination." ■

Margit von Mises: R.I.P.

by L.H.R., Jr.

According to feminist mythology, strong women can't be happy wives. But no one could overlook Margit von Mises's strength, although her chosen and fulfilling role was wife to Ludwig von Mises (1881-1973), the eminent economist who has inspired generations of scholars in Europe and the United States.

As his wife, she was his essential helper. As his widow, she was his tireless advocate. Now her work is ended. Margit von Mises died in New York City on June 25th at the age of 102.

Mises's colleagues in the Vienna of the 1920s and 30s thought him a confirmed bachelor. And he was—until he met the beautiful Margit.

Born in Hamburg, Germany, Margit Herzfeld learned English before she learned German because of her parents' travels in the United States. A successful actress and play translator, she first met Professor Mises at a Vienna dinner party held by Felix Kauffman, the historian of science.

Mises was famous because of his new book *Socialism*, a devastating refutation of the menace. But Margit knew nothing of this. "What impressed me," she later wrote in her moving *My Years With Ludwig von Mises*, "were his beautiful, clear blue eyes, always concentrated on the person to whom he talked, never shifting away."

"I did not need to answer," she wrote. "He knew how I felt. It was only him who I wanted."

"The next day, when my hosts told me that he was considered" the "greatest living mind in Austria, it gave me quite a shock. He seemed so unpretentious and simple, so easy to talk to." Mises was impressed as well, for he sent her red roses and a dinner invitation.

During their courtship, Margit began to understand why Mises had dedicated his life to the ideals of liberty and property. "It took years and much reading," she wrote, but "his most devoted students could not have been more convinced of the advantages of free enterprise and of freedom for the individual than I became."

When he proposed, Mises warned her all-too-prophetically: "If you want a rich man, don't marry me. I am writing about money, but will never have much of my own."

"I did not need to answer," she wrote. "He knew how I felt. It was only him who I wanted." And her love never diminished, no matter what troubles they faced.

The Nazis hated Mises because he was their most important intellectual opponent, on the Right, and because he was Jewish. When they entered Vienna, they ransacked his library and destroyed his papers.

Ludwig and Margit were by this time in Geneva, where they married. But pressure on the Swiss government forced the couple to leave once again. They fled across France, just in front of advancing German armies. Finally, they reached Lisbon, and then New York City.

But in America, this renowned scholar—now 60—had no income, no books, no home, and, thanks to the statism of the time, no prospects for an academic post. He and his wife had to move five times in their first year. Mises also had to learn to write in a new language, although Margit's fluency in English must have been invaluable, as were her unswerving love and support. At one dark moment, he told her: "If it were not for you, I would not want

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to live anymore."

But Mises had admirers in America, and economist Henry Hazlitt and businessman Lawrence Fertig arranged for a privately funded appointment at New York University. And once they could afford it, Margit found them an apartment at 777 West End Avenue in Manhattan, which was to be their permanent home. Six years later, they made formal what was already true in their hearts: they became American citizens.

The stories from their American years—their friends, dinners, seminars, mountain-climbing vacations—have become legendary on the Right. And Mises's life in America would prove to be his most productive. Margit typed, proofed, and otherwise assisted with the thousands of manuscript pages for his *Human Action*, which stands to this day as the most important defense of market economics ever written.

After his death, Margit became what Murray N. Rothbard called a "one-woman Mises industry." Inspired by this, on the 100th anniversary of Mises's birth, I approached her with the idea of an institute dedicated to her husband and his ideas. Calling the Mises Institute a "dream come true," she agreed to chair the new enterprise, and gave me much wise counsel over the years, as she did everyone who came to her for advice.

Margit became what Murray N. Rothbard called a "one-woman Mises industry."

God bless this great lady. May the ideas of freedom as shown forth in the work of her beloved Lu, which she worked so hard to advance, live on and eventually triumph. ■

How To Become A Happy Martyr

by M.N.R.

Would you like to enjoy all the perks of martyrdom while suffering almost none of the pain? Perks: media stardom, adulation by the cultural elite, and making a fortune from huge lecture fees.

Here's how to do it in four easy steps folks (basing the strategy on two recent cases, "Professor" Anita Hill and Professor Lani Guinier):

1. Be a Negress.
2. Become a leftist.
3. Go on nationwide TV, waging a fight of some sort for The Oppressed (i.e. blacks and/or women).
4. Lose that fight, while smiling bravely through your tears.

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